

Pamph
Sociol
8

1774 N. MacKenzie
Student Christian Movement of Canada

SOME CANADIAN QUESTIONS

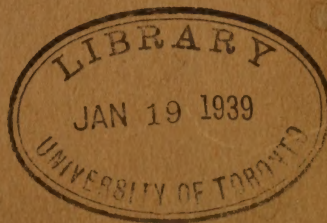
Studies in preparation for the
First Canadian National Student Conference
December 28th—January 2nd, 1923

Prepared by a Committee of the Movement.

Price 20c each—\$2.00 per dozen

STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
OF CANADA

604 JARVIS STREET, TORONTO





SOME CANADIAN QUESTIONS

Studies in preparation for the
First Canadian National Student Conference
December 28th—January 2nd, 1923

Prepared by a Committee of the Movement.

Price 20c each—\$2.00 per dozen

STUDENT CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT
OF CANADA

604 JARVIS STREET, TORONTO

1922

FOREWORD

The National Conference which is to be held in Toronto, December 28th-January 2nd, is the first of its kind. Its aim is: (a) To unite those who are members of the Student Christian Movement, and any undergraduates or graduates who may wish to join with them, in deliberation and fellowship. (b) To face the conditions and problems of Canada with a view to discovering the way of Jesus for our national and international life. (c) To hear people who are qualified to speak on these subjects by knowledge and experience.

The conference is an opportunity to confer together. Preliminary thought and study on the part of delegates is a necessary preparation. The following studies have been prepared with this in view. It is suggested that groups should meet in the colleges to discuss the questions raised in these studies. Statements, questions and bibliographies¹ are so arranged that any section may be enlarged and used for study for the whole year. Experience has shown that a meeting of a group should last for an hour or more. At least eight meetings should be planned for before the conference. It is essential that each member of the group prepares for the meeting by special reading and thought on definite subjects assigned beforehand. In some colleges it may be wise to invite a member of the staff to lead a group, in others student leadership will prove the better plan. When several groups are meeting in the same college some joint meetings might be held where a speaker might give an address and answer questions on a subject already discussed in the various groups. Help with some of the subjects will be obtained through regular academic courses.

Those of us who have worked together in the Student Christian Movement have great faith in a corporate and fearless search for truth undertaken in all humility and devotion by ordinary people who will dare to act on their discoveries. We believe that the Kingdom of God can only be discovered through such search. We aim in this conference at an examination of phases of Canadian life that we may see where lies their strength and their weakness and may gain more light on how the Spirit of Christ may dominate that life and how Canada may join with other peoples in the universal fellowship of the Kingdom of God.

The responsibility for this conference as for all else in the Student Christian Movement rests on the members. Its value will depend on preparation and results.

¹Many of the books in the bibliographies will be found in university and college libraries.

CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword	3
I. Rural Canada	5
II. The Concern of the Community in Industry	10
III. Society and Industrial Discord	14
IV. New Canadians—How We Get Them and How We Re- ceive Them	18
V. Internationalism and War	24
VI. Internationalism and Co-operation	28
VII. The Foreign Missionary Enterprise	32
Appendix A. Report on The International Object of the World's Student Christian Federation—Peking, 1922.....	37
Appendix B. Report on The Missionary Purpose of the World's Student Christian Federation—Peking, 1922	39

I. THE RURAL QUESTION

The Farmers' Movement is generally regarded as a new thing, and yet it is not new even in Canada. There have been at least four powerful associations in Ontario prior to the United Farmers, the most outstanding being the Dominion Grange which reached its maximum strength about forty years ago. Nor does the United Farmers' Association of each province represent the whole movement to-day; there are thousands of farmers who belong to other farmer associations which are attempting to improve rural conditions. The United Farmers' Movement is by far the strongest numerically, and the widest in matters of interest of any distinctly agricultural organization in Canada. It must have some genuine foundation as it has existed for more than twenty years in the Canadian West.

To understand conditions that gave rise to the farmer movements, either of forty years ago or of to-day, it is necessary to consider industrial development in Great Britain during the last two centuries, for that experience is being repeated in the United States and in Canada at this later date. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the basis of the nation's industry had been agriculture. The farm home was largely self-contained, as was the home of the craftsman, who usually owned his tools and worked in his own house. Then came revolutionary discoveries. Hargraves invented the "spinning-jenny" in 1764, Arkwright the loom in 1768, and Crompton the "mule" in 1786. The use of steam power was made possible through Watt's invention in 1765. Machinery and steam power and the workman had to be brought together under the same roof. The result was that workmen congregated in the neighborhood of industrial plants, and worked with tools and machinery which no longer belonged to them.

In former days ability to transport bulky or perishable products was limited. Markets for agricultural produce were almost purely local. The consumer was brought into intimate contact with the producer. But as people began to gather in industrial centres methods of transportation were improved so that commodities were drawn for long distances. Cities were no longer dependent upon the immediate vicinity for supplies, and the consumer got out of touch with the producer. The results of these developments were at least threefold:

1. The interdependence of town and country was lost sight of.
2. The dependence of nations on agriculture was minimized, and in many quarters entirely overlooked.
3. The rapid growth of towns, with congestion of population and the laws of individual property, led to the growth of the cruder forms of socialism. Such have been the intellectual consequences in Great Britain, conditions presently repeated in America. The physical consequences have been an ever decreasing rural population with a constantly increasing urban population.

The effect of these conditions upon the position and life of the individual who remained on the land must be noted; here we shall confine our thought to Canada. A century ago the man on the land did not count, for there was practically no agriculture. Positions of trust and leadership were in the hands of Court appointees or the Family Compact. But the insurrection of '37 resulted in fuller responsible government, which, together with extensive immigration, led agriculturalists to take their share in the direction of affairs of state. This was followed by a modification of policy in virtue of which statesmen devoted their energies to building up urban industry. Enabling legislation, granting concessions, bonuses and tariff protection, hastened the movement. The town offered greater opportunity for gain than the country. Young men of ability flocked to the centres of opportunity. Farmers practically disappeared from positions of leadership and took no active or intelligent part in public affairs.

When these conditions first became apparent the Dominion Grange came into existence in Ontario. It centered its activities in the promotion of good fellowship, the development of the individual and the securing of useful legislation. Later came the Patrons of Industry, distinctly political in aim, meteoric in growth and in death. The Farmers' Association followed; this was a desultory organization closely resembling the Grange. It yielded to the United Farmers of Ontario in 1914. In the meantime the farmers of the Prairie Provinces had organized and had no small influence on the direction taken by the Ontario movement. Their initial interest seems to have been purely economic. To deliver themselves from the clutches of the great grain companies and secure for the producer a fair share of the consumer's dollar was the task to which they addressed themselves. With them, as with the farmers in the other provinces, the first move was to create an organization

One might ask what roused the farmers to action. Probably no one factor can be fastened on as the cause. Generally speaking farmers were discouraged. In the West they saw the grain companies flourishing while they themselves often could not sell their

grain. When there was a market, the price was cruelly disappointing. In Ontario and to some extent in the West, young men were going to town and making money in a way no farmer could. The successful ones were held up as examples of urban opportunity, the failures and struggling masses were unnoticed. The bright lights, home conveniences, short working hours, and Sunday rest all made their appeal. The farmer saw these things and desired them for himself, but knew that as society and business was organized he could not have them. He felt uncomfortable and dissatisfied. He became possessed of the conviction that he was the victim of injustice, and that privileged interests were getting the better of him. The matter was brought to a head by urban industry drawing hired help away from the farm, and the farmer finding himself struggling along with the land fearfully undermanned.

What, then, is the rural problem, or is there one? It is doubtful whether any one of the thousands of organized farmers has ever answered these questions with any degree of satisfaction. Most of them would say that the problem hinges purely on economic considerations: "Secure for the farmer a return for his labor relative to other occupations by improving production, and, more particularly, by improving marketing machinery, and, at the same time, relieve him of such economic disabilities as discriminating tariff legislation and inadequate credit facilities," they say. This is true so far as it goes, but it takes for granted that if every man and woman has a fair economic opportunity he will succeed and become a worthy, contented citizen. The facts of life disprove so simple a solution.

The truth is that the rural problem is the universal problem of how to live at all and of how to live well. We must note, however, that there are aspects of the problem of living peculiar to agriculture, and, since the condition of agriculture has a profound influence on urban life, every citizen has an interest in the solution. In the words of a Chinese philosopher: "The well-being of a people is like a tree. Agriculture is its root, manufacturing and commerce are its branches and leaves. If the root is injured, the leaves fall, the branches break away and the tree dies."

Every group of people with common interests is in need of able leaders and exponents. In this agriculture is no exception. One might set down, then, as a first need of agriculture the retention and proper training of able men and women on the farm. How else can economic justice be secured in competition with other occupations, or how can farmers be led? This will involve two things, first, a remodeling of our educational system, and, second, a readjustment of values. Our educational system picks out bright students by successive stages, and by the time they graduate from the

university they are professionally minded and trained for professions, and are without the means to take up farming, even if they wanted to do so. As to values, from Plato down, with a few notable exceptions, the man who labours with his hands has always been written and spoken about as an inferior being. For decades, in church, in school and from the platform the man who has risen from poverty and amassed a fortune by speculation or industry in town has been held up as the ideal. The ideal of honourable labour as taught by Christ has been largely a lip ideal, and children are quick to discern this.

Given these conditions, agriculturalists with what ability and training they possess, must set themselves to create machinery designed to meet their economic needs. These will include means of production, the establishing of proper marketing machinery and channels and the creation of proper credit facilities. The farm home must also be considered, for it is the centre upon which every other factor converges. What can be done in and for the home will depend largely on the finance available; but it is folly to shut one's eyes to the fact that many farmers and farm women have not the amenities and conveniences in their homes which they could well afford. Urban communities of necessity have set themselves to overcome the difficulties caused by refuse, sickness, water supply, dark streets, family washing, baking, etc., and have succeeded. Farmers and farm women have not yet done this to any extent. The farm home and home life must be a first object of attention. This merges into the community life. The isolation of certain parts of the country, particularly in the West, is a severe handicap. But if farmers have the will to work together this condition will gradually be corrected.

Little has been said about what the organized farmers have done. Nor is it pretended that they are moving intelligently toward the accomplishment of any one of the ends mentioned. Their views differ according to the conditions peculiar to each locality. But every end mentioned is thoroughly appreciated in some quarter and everywhere farmers are seized with the determination to improve their condition. With a broadening vision of the goal in view and with the will to do, there is reason to hope for substantial progress.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why do young people so frequently desire to leave the country for the town? How far does the economic question affect this? (a) in a desire for more home comforts, (b) in a desire for more leisure time, (c) in a desire for a richer or more varied life. What is implied in your answer?

2. Will the Farmer's Party tend to a division between town and country, or to a clearer understanding on the part of the nation of the place of the agricultural people?

3. Does Canada need the agriculturist? If so, should his industry be protected?

4. "National leaders usually come from the country." Discuss. Who, then, will be the future leaders? How should the nation guard its future?

Bibliography

"Challenge of Agriculture," M. H. Staples. \$1.00. Morang & Co. *Suitable for use as a textbook.*

"Deep Furrows," Hopkins Moorehouse McLeod. 75c.

"The Rural Community," McGaw. MacMillan. \$2.00.

"Reports of Country Life Association." University of Chicago Press. 4 vols. \$2.50 per vol.

NOTE—

(All books mentioned in this and following bibliographies may be ordered through the Student Christian Movement, 604 Jarvis Street, Toronto.)

II. THE CONCERN OF THE COMMUNITY IN INDUSTRY.

By industry we understand that organization of human effort and resources which aims to supply the material basis of the life which we now seek to live. Any spiritual view of life will exclude the belief that life can be adequately interpreted exclusively on a material basis or as concerned merely with its own maintenance. On the other hand, the efficient provision for that material basis is one of the most important concerns of any community, and today the greatest challenge that meets the spiritual leader arises from the need of interpreting that aspect of life as a means of spiritual achievement. The material basis being so important, it is surprising to find that its provision is the one thing which the ordinary man takes for granted. Industry, indeed, is all too often thought of as a sphere in which rival but component elements wage their petty wars to the inconvenience of the citizens as a body. On reflection, however, we see that industry is just society itself organized for the supply of those material commodities and essential services without which it cannot exist or thrive. The efficiency of industry, then, cannot be estimated by ascertaining how far it promotes the sectional interest of any of its component groups of people. Its test lies in the efficiency of its functioning as a social organ to social ends. The educated man or woman who seeks full life will approach the study of industry with a view to discovering the manner and degree in which the social purpose of industry is achieved.

Capitalism and Syndicalism.

These obvious statements are sharply challenged by those who regard the industrial process mainly in relation to their private, sectional or class interest. From one side the process is interpreted in terms of the owners of the machinery and as existing for the advantage of these owners. This view gives us capitalism. On the other hand the whole process may be interpreted as existing for the benefit of those who operate the machines, and this view leads to syndicalism. (Syndicalism is a term based on the common French word for the trade union.) Against both these partisan views an increasing number of people assert that industry is a social function, and must be judged as it ministers to community life. When this view is made determinant it becomes a motive of action, and then the whole industrial process is regarded as a co-operative effort to serve social ends rather than a competitive

effort to gain sectional or personal advantage. Many serious students believe that the obscuring of this aspect is the main factor in the existing situation and one engineer, Mr. H. L. Gantt, in his "Organizing for Work," asserted that the nation which first pays allegiance to the social view of industry will dominate the world.

Many responsible people protest that the social view provides no adequate motive. They claim that unless the element of competitive struggle for profit is present, effort will fall off. Such a claim must be carefully considered, but it will be discovered that, after a long period during which the appeal has been made to this motive, the general mass of workers do not respond as might be expected to any such appeal. The cash nexus has failed to sustain the unity and efficiency of the industrial society.

The Duty of Working.

The social view, moreover, imposes on all members of the community some responsibility for industrial achievement. We can no longer evade the obligation of every citizen both in relation to the load of productive work which he imposes on others and in relation to the service which he renders as a substitute for active participation in the industrial process. We must consider who should be excused from work—the man who has made his fortune, the girl who lives at home, the man who has inherited a fortune, or the members of the learned professions? Should occupations be valued according to their value to society or according to the private economic advantage which they assure to us? We must consider in this connection the obligations which rest upon a leisured class and on those who have had a college training. What difference is there between the coal miner who goes on strike, despite the suffering imposed on other people, and those who accept their coal supply without a thought about the conditions under which it is produced? What contribution does the mother or homemaker make to the industrial life? In what way should remuneration come to her—as a dole from a kindly husband or as earned income?

How Shall Social Interests be Secured?

If we assent to the doctrine that industry should be run for the community, we must next ask how the community may assert its supreme interest and how its obligation may be discharged. We must ask whether state ownership, state control or state regulation of the means of production ensures the constant supply of the needed commodities. Would the state or the local municipality be the better organ for such tasks? Since industry is one of the most important elements in the social structure, would its

work be more harmoniously related to society if parliamentary representation were based in part or wholly on occupational groups? We should consider the extent to which British parliamentary growth was based on class representation, and note the prediction of the Tories that the abolition of the old system by the Reform Act of 1832 would involve the dominance of parliament by one class, namely, the business man. Should we look backward for a cure of the present distrust of parliaments or should we look for some new organization of authority which might be to industry what the law and medical societies are in the control of their respective services to society?

International Aspects.

The dependence of all communities on the material basis of life creates an imperative demand for access to raw materials and for adequate markets in which to sell the surplus of one commodity in exchange for another which cannot be produced at home. This carries industrial activity into the sphere of international relations. Dare any national government responsible for the future of its people be remiss in securing to them proper supplies of essential commodities such as oil? If oil be necessary to the welfare of all peoples, what is the duty of governments which control access to oil deposits? Should they be accused of sordidness if they seek to ensure supplies to their own future population? What obligation devolves on other governments which have no such access, and how shall they provide for their future population? If raw materials are to be regarded as wealth held by national governments in trust for humanity, what shall we as Canadians do with our approximate monopoly of the world's supply of nickel? Is there any means by which national security may be obtained without adopting a policy of exclusion towards other peoples? Can any nation maintain a high standard of living for its manual workers apart from the co-operative action of other nations?

Responsibility for the Use of Industrial Power.

The broadening of our conception of industry and of our responsibility for industry places on those who have received the educational boons of college life, some special obligation with regard to the formation and organization of public opinion. It has been shown conclusively that the recent steel strike in the United States was brought to collapse by a public opinion formed by a press campaign now known to have been mendacious and fraudulent. How can undergraduates and graduates aid the press in its task of informing the people? How can they aid the churches in organizing a Christian attitude to industry and industrial disputes? In view of the tremendous increase in man's control over

physical forces, we should consider what steps should be taken to secure a proportionate development of the sense of responsibility in return for the use of the power to control? Are changes required in the training of lawyers and judges if the law of property in relation to industrial organization is to be interpreted in accordance with realities and not merely with fictitious interests? What responsibility will rest upon medical men to prevent such speeding up of production as will ultimately menace the vitality and nervous ability of the race? What changes are required in our elementary school curriculum if industry is to be presented from the first as a means of social service rather than a game of passing on the loss and gaining the profit?

Questions for Discussion

1. How important is the human factor in labour?
2. Who is entitled to the profits of industrial ventures?
3. What are the evil effects of machine production on the worker? What remedies would you suggest for these evils?
4. What are outstanding weaknesses of labour? What protection does (a) the employer, (b) the employee require?
5. What solutions are there for discord between capital and labour?

Bibliography

What is the Christian attitude to work and wealth? Association Press. *Suitable for use as a textbook.*
The Acquisitive Society. R. H. Tawney.
One of the best presentations of the spiritual issues.
Labour in the Changing World. R. M. McIver.
The Report of Quaker Employers.

III. SOCIETY AND INDUSTRIAL DISCORD

Since industry exists to supply the commodities necessary for modern life, anything which menaces the constant operation of the industrial process is of social concern. Whether in the form of a mine, or factory, or railway, or other distributing agency, we are ever confronted with the claim that "a man has the right to do what he likes with his own business." Here we meet the idea of property right applied to a fact which is new in history; for a modern industry is a highly complex organization of human energies and not merely of commodities such as buildings and bank credits. Can the old idea of property be safely transferred to such new facts without far-reaching modification? If applied unchanged do we not, in effect, give to the term property an unheard-of meaning? What truth is there in the claim of the Oxford manifesto ("Property—its duties and its rights") that property is sacred when guaranteeing the right of personality to develop through the control of things, but that it is no longer defensible when it signifies the control of other persons by means of this control of things?

We find raised the vital issue of current industrial dispute, whether labor is to be regarded as a commodity on sale according to the law of supply and demand. The Treaty of Versailles explicitly repudiated such a view, but have the peoples in their actual thinking ratified the treaty? Is human life invested in an industry to be the first charge upon industry, or is it to be one of the shifting costs of production? The recent British dock strike terminated in a history-making agreement that, since the shipping industry calls for a supply of men ever available for instant employment in loading or unloading, the maintenance of these men while standing idle awaiting employment must fall on that industry as a whole. What does it involve in the way of social action if we accept the principle that a worker is at no time to be without income adequate to sustain efficient life? Is the fear of want or of unemployment of any inspiring value, or is it rather a depressing element?

What Labour Wants.

The claims of organized labour all centre in this first principle. Without enumerating the varying forms in which these demands have been set forth, we shall find it better to review them as they are seen by a detached body of employers resolute to carry Christianity into their industrial life. About two hundred British

Quaker manufacturers faced this problem, and worked out their own answer without conference with labour. They came to precisely the same conclusions that organized labour has reached, and they have for several years embodied their programme in their factories.

These employers insist first of all that every employed person is primarily a person with the full prerogatives of personality. Conditions of employment must never infringe these prerogatives. This demands an assured minimum income, sufficient to allow a normal human life as a member of a family; this income is to be secured without any bargaining. To this minimum should be added such supplementary wages as compensate for special skill, endurance or drudgery. Moreover these firms insist that, if labour-saving appliances are introduced, part of the economy effected should be ear-marked for maintenance of the labour displaced until it is reabsorbed. Thus an industry must deal with man as a unit, seeing that the wage paid during his working hours is adequate to sustain him as a normal human being throughout the whole of his life.

These employers insist that personality must function not only through manual labour but through all human activities, including the power of government. They therefore insist on a graded system of training by which employees will come to participate, first in the operative work, then in the commercial task of buying raw materials and selling products, and finally in the technical, financial arrangements. According to this programme the workers are given a status which satisfies the human spirit; each worker is made a member of a self-governing whole. Does this imperil any rightful interest? Is it offensive as weakening long-enjoyed monopoly of control? Does it solve the great problem of conserving the human status of the worker?

Who Claims the Final Profits?

These Quaker firms face the fact that industry must yield a surplus. It must produce more than is to be consumed forthwith. It must provide for depreciation, replacement and expansion, or otherwise there can be no industrial progress. But who owns the final surplus? The firms reply quite definitely that it does not belong to the people who provided the capital. They have been paid by interest. Workers have presumably been paid as above. Skill and management have been remunerated by adequate salaries. What final claim has the capitalist to this additional return? The firms insist that most of such profit should go to the community either in reduced prices or in taxation. Have the Quaker employers shown any serious weakening of business ability? Are they inferior in ambition or initiative by reason of their adopting a Chris-

tian motive and by reason of their repudiation of the quest for profits as the determinant motive? Is greater satisfaction found in getting pay or in the delight of doing what one can do well? What groups should be allowed to know the delight of self-expression? What may vocational training and vocational guidance contribute to securing this end?

The Man and the Machine.

The old-time craftsman worked at his own bench with his own tools at his own speed. Tools were an extension of his body, the means by which he expressed himself. The modern worker in most cases adapts himself to his machine, which is owned by another, and which sets the pace for his own movements. The power machine tends to bring the man into subordination to the machine. The physiological effects of this fact have not yet been measured; the psychological effect is seen on every side in a certain explosive reaction of human nature seeking escape from the hated machine. The so-called dislike of work is not normal or a natural product. If the alleged distaste for work does exist, is it not due to the form in which work is required? There can of course be no return from machine work to hand production, but has not Gandhi put his finger on the defect of western civilization in calling the people back to hand crafts? How then can the elements of human nature, suppressed by machine production, be liberated? Will reduced hours of work, with increased provision for spontaneous action, solve the problem? How much of the needed spontaneity is found in looking at a moving picture? How can active playing in group games displace the custom of passive amusement? How far can the industrial process itself enlist the creative interest of the workers? Seeing that no one person can now look on an article which he has himself produced, is it possible to awaken in the productive group a sense of collective creatorship which will be vital enough to meet the need?

Labour and Education.

Thirty years ago most of our industrial disputes were over matters of pay. This gradually gave place to strikes mostly concerning matters of status. The present depressed condition of industry has confused matters but these returns reveal the trend. Education opened a window which cannot be closed. A labour leader speaking to a great labour meeting which was demanding working class control of government, said that such control can come to no class save by the path of service and discipline. Do all labour leaders believe this? Do we encourage the labour leaders who speak in this way, or do we group all together in one condemnation? What effect has popular education and the access to libraries on

the heightened ambitions of labour? What part might students take in promoting the Workers' Educational Association? What do you think of the Mathers Commission report that study of economic problems is more advanced among the labour leaders than among the employer group? How can there be actual freedom of contract while one man has absolute control of the means without which another man cannot earn his livelihood? Seeing that the owners or stockholders hire a manager to speak for them, why should not the workers hire an expert to speak for them? What improvement in living conditions comes to labour where it is not organized enough to secure comparative equality in bargaining?

How Shall Labour be Protected?

When the industrial revolution first revealed its tendency to reduce wages below the level of efficient livelihood labour appealed to parliament to conserve the vitality of the nation. Parliament refused, and ordered that the matter be fought out in the economic sphere. When labour then proceeded to organize, organization was made a crime. Such laws have been repealed, but the state of mind which prompted them still lingers. Should wages now fall in proportion to the lower cost of living? If so, does this pre-suppose that the pre-war conditions accorded labour its due share of the wealth produced? This last suggestion has been generally denied; then should we make pre-war wages the basis of comparison? Shall we encourage labour to find representation in city and national councils and legislatures, or shall we tell them to fight it out in the industrial world, leaving them inarticulate in council? Is this the best way to peace? Should labour be handed over to the uncovenanted mercies of the ever-growing number of benevolent employers, or should they feel that these "uncovenanted mercies" are assured rights? Is good-will in the employer an adequate alternative to guaranteed freedom of expression through some form of unionism?

Questions for Discussion

1. Consider the result for the individual of:

- (a) assuming responsibility for work.
- (b) being absolutely free from work.

How does the attitude of the individual toward work affect the community?

2. How shall the interest of the community be safeguarded in industry?

3. How shall the community fulfil its obligation to industry?

4. What are the "international aspects of industry"?

5. What is the responsibility of the student toward industry?

IV. NEW CANADIANS¹

How We Get Them and How We Receive Them.

The problem of population is always intensified wherever a country possesses enormous, habitable territory, and vast natural resources. The transformation of these natural resources into actual wealth, and the use of them for the well-being of people requires "the horny hand of toil." A country having a small number of people per square mile will have many difficulties which largely disappear with the increase of population, though other problems will arise in place of those which have disappeared. Coal may lie in abundance in the Rocky Mountains, but, for the few people who formerly occupied the forest lands of Ontario, the coal was inaccessible, and as unknown as the mountains themselves. Yet the broad acres, the wealth of forest and mine, are wonderful sources of attraction to people in other lands, who, for various reasons, seek the fortunes of the new countries. It is in this way the great tides of immigration have been moving towards the shores of the North American Continent during the last two centuries, especially during the last century which saw such great migrations of people to the United States, and, later, to Canada.

With the rapid growth of population there came the social and political organization of people into the outlines of a nation developing foreign trade, borrowing capital abroad for its own development and incurring a national debt which, unfortunately, has become a great burden by the enormous costs of war. One needs but recall the fact that at the beginning of August, 1922, the net debt of Canada was \$2,387,672,265.00, approximately \$43,000,000.00 more than it was one year before. The distribution of this debt over nine millions of a population gives a per capita tax of about \$265.00. Such a burden laid upon every man, woman and child in the Dominion could not be relieved for many years without increases in our population and, therefore, in our earning power. Increases in the number of people is a first need of the hour. If we add to the problems of production those connected with the transportation and communication of people in widely scattered areas, we are facing the vital questions of our national life.

The sources of population are two-fold, namely, natural birth-rate and immigration, and it is obvious that the former is utterly inadequate to meet the demands of a country with great areas, immense natural resources, and a heavy national debt in addition

¹This statement is intended as a basis for at least two discussions.

to large annual expenditures. In a small and compact country natural birth-rate would in a few generations overtake some of the difficulties under which a people struggled; but the same rate of increase would be quite inadequate in a country enormously larger. Many things, however, contribute to make this factor in our national life less efficient than it might be. The economic pressure under which a country suffers tends to limit the number as well as the size of families while the same pressure, linked with ignorance, neglect, inadequate state and municipal supervision, is potent in maintaining a high death rate, especially among infants and young children.

The great source of people for a new country is and always has been immigration and the history of Canada is largely the history of its immigration. The reasons or motives by which people are led to leave a well-settled country in favour of a new one are many and diverse and have much to do with the future citizenship of the country into which they come. Desire for religious freedom, relief from autocratic government, dissatisfaction with land tenure, impossibility of obtaining free land or free title to any land, desire for a home with agricultural facilities, opportunities for education of children, hope of gain and return to the land of one's birth, these and many others induce people to leave their homes and migrate to other lands. These motives are aided by organized methods on the part of a government desiring immigrants, as, for example, when the Canadian government carried on extensive advertising in European cities, it had exhibits of Canadian products at agricultural fairs, lecture bureaus, travelling agents, and gave bonuses to transportation companies or their agents for every suitable immigrant secured.

When the west was opened in 1885 by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, there became accessible to the hand of industry vast prairies for the development of agriculture and the trades connected therewith. Thus, in addition to the French, British and Indian races (the last having become wards of the Government), there came waves of immigrants from nearly all parts of the world, but mainly from Europe, with large numbers from Asia. These immigrant waves were exceedingly large during the last quarter of the last century, and continued, not only unabated but even increased, during the first decade of the present century and up to the catastrophe of the War. The details of that story of the great immigration into Canada form one of the most fascinating portions of our history, but, for a bird's eye view, one can imagine a constant procession of people for more than twenty years until, since the year 1900—a period when most of the students of to-day have been growing up—there have come into Canada

from nearly all parts of the world three and a half million of people. If one can imagine a village of five hundred people appearing every day of the week for an unbroken period of twenty years, uninterrupted even by the tragedies of war, some comprehension of the tremendous significance of this movement for the life of Canada may be obtained. One is safe in saying that the process of blending these various peoples into the unity of Canadian life is only now going on, and will not be finished for many a long day.

Of this vast host of immigrant people those from the British Isles numbered about one and a quarter million, those from the United States little more than one and a quarter million, and those from other countries nearly another million. Among the last there was great diversity both in nationality and race, for they came from more than twenty-five countries. The cost of promoting and supervising this tremendous immigration gradually increased with the tide and the efforts put forward. Such cost rose from about \$200,000 for a year at the beginning of the century to its maximum cost in 1914 of nearly two million, but the cost has not fallen below a million dollars per annum for a decade. The total cost for immigration since the beginning of the century is about twenty-two million. By a curious coincidence there has been a strange source of income for this expenditure. Canada in 1885—the year in which the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed to the western coast—placed a head-tax of \$50 on every Chinese, except exempt persons, who entered Canada. In 1901 the tax was raised to \$100, and in 1904 to \$500. Since the date when the head-tax was first imposed the Chinese have paid into Canada's treasury nearly twenty-one million dollars, which almost meets our immigration bill! Since the beginning of the present century there have been admitted to Canada 5,297 Hindus, 19,996 Japanese, and 55,720 Chinese, a total of nearly 81,000 Orientals. The problem as to what part Orientals making their permanent home in this country shall play in developing Canada's national life is not only not settled but growing more acute every day. The intense problem is focussed in British Columbia, though its influence extends throughout the whole Dominion.

The other great sections of our immigrant people are those from North-West and South-East Europe respectively. Of the former the greatest numbers are from the British Isles, a million and a quarter since 1900. During the same period there were rejected about 2,500, and, of those admitted, some 7,500 were deported. In the twenty years, to 1920, 10,000 persons were sent back to Britain, an average of 500 per year. It is an easily verifiable fact that rejections of British immigrants at ports of entry are low when compared with rejections of non-British, but that de-

portations of British after admission are far in excess, pro rata, of the deportations of non-British. Some very acute problems arise from this situation, but there is no space here for their discussion. Of the Scandinavian groups not much need be said. They are among our best immigrants, and contribute to the finest of our people. Folk from Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Denmark have contributed to our agriculture, our mining, our fishing, our lumbering, our education and our government, and are found in all industrially progressive centres in the land. Of the German groups some have been slow to enter into the life and spirit of Canada, e.g. Mennonites, Hutterites and some groups in Saskatchewan. In agriculture, however, both East and West, they have excelled, and are almost invariably characterized by thrift and industry. Belgium has given us since 1900 nearly 17,000 immigrants who have contributed to the mechanical trades and sometimes to intensive modes of agriculture. France has bestowed in the same period over 23,000, many of whom have probably settled in Quebec. Italy has been very generous with 114,000, and Switzerland, even, allowed 2,500.

The people who come from the South-East of Europe are almost entirely Slav, and they have come in large numbers. From Austria-Hungary nearly 200,000, from Russia about 114,000, have joined our ranks and built our largest colonies, and to these may be added from Bulgaria 17,000, nearly all of whom have come in the last decade, from Roumania 8,000, about the same as from Greece, while Turkey has parted with nearly 4,000, and Armenia with 1,750. Of the characteristics and achievements of these nationalities all Canadians are now more or less—many, unfortunately, less rather than more—familiar. The Greeks have captured much of our restaurant work; the Italians are rapidly controlling the “Green Grocery” in the East, as the Oriental is in the West; the Jews, of whom 73,000 have come during the last two decades, are beginning to dominate, even if they do not control, the clothing trades; the Doukhobors have settled in two large colonies, one in Saskatchewan and one in British Columbia, with minor settlements scattered throughout the prairie provinces; the Ukrainians are now found throughout Canada from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the shores of the Pacific, with a large “colony” in Northern Alberta of 30,000 or more persons, and groups of considerable size throughout the western provinces as well as thousands more or less absorbed in the population of large cities like Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal. Of the Finns and Poles, 21,000 of the former and 36,000 of the latter, have come into Canada in the last twenty years—much more could be said than space allows, and much of what might be said would be quite favourable. If to

these various nationalities be added 300,000 French Canadians scattered throughout Canada outside the Province of Quebec, English speaking Canadians who are also taking up new land in unsettled districts, and thousands of Indians, the original possessors of the land who are still with us, some notion of the problem of national life for the future of Canada may be obtained. In a country whose inhabitants are such that nearly one-third are French Canadian, with a glorious continuity of religion, language and tradition, that a little more than half are British with an equally glorious but different continuity, that the remainder of the inhabitants are members of nearly all the other nationalities under heaven with quite different languages, religion and tradition,—in such a country the task of the future is to fuse these many diverse elements into a firm cohesion marked by a sound national spirit. If the youth of the land “put their backs into the job,” it can be done; if they turn away in supercilious pride they will not be worthy of the ancestors who gave them birth. The hand of destiny has placed this gigantic problem before young Canadians.

Questions for Discussion

A.

At the end of each chapter in “Building the Nation” there are questions and topics for discussion with references to a limited scope of literature. The following may be added or substituted for them:—

1. What are the conditions under which steerage passengers travel to Canada in steamships, and are there any defects in that transportation which should be remedied?

2. How may the conditions and processes of examination be improved at ports of entry, or are they at present satisfactory?

3. How could women's organizations co-operate with the women's section of the Immigration Department so as to provide facility and comfort for, as well as welcome to, single immigrant women?

4. What evidence is there that the Slav does not easily and quickly assimilate with the people of the country to which he emigrates, and what evidence is there that he does? What are the factors operating in either case?

5. What are the specific questions presented by the presence of 70,000 Orientals in Canada, and what suggestions are offered for the solution of such questions?

6. Is there any means discoverable whereby children of Oriental parents may be educated side by side with other children in Canadian public schools?

Questions for Discussion

B.

1. What evidence is afforded by the results of the Soldier Settlement Scheme, which throws great light upon the difficulties encountered by poor immigrants in endeavouring to settle on the land?

2. Should the Dominion Government make an annual grant, according to the number of immigrants settling annually in the various provinces, for provincial purposes of public school education?

3. Granted that special emphasis should be laid upon the desirability of British immigrants how can they be selected with a view to the solution of Canada's outstanding problems regarding population?

4. How can the cultivation of a national spirit be produced in Canada, and how can it affect the growth of international friendship?

Bibliography

Numberless questions arise regarding the problems involved, but, unfortunately, the literature at the command of Canadians is very limited. For the general story of Immigration, see,

Smith: A study in Canadian Immigration.

For the questions connected with racial characteristics, see

Moore: The Clash. An excellent study sympathetic toward Quebec.

Commons: Races and Immigrants in America. Very good.

Steiner: On the trail of the Immigrant. A first-hand report of conditions under which immigrants enter a new country.

Lord: The Italian in America. A penetrating study of the Italian and Italian immigration.

For Problems of Education see

Anderson: The Education of the New Canadian. The best study of the subject so far but a second edition is in preparation.

Sissons: Bilingualism. A thorough historical discussion of the problem.

For the general question connected with the relations of different nationalities in Canada with short historical background and the factors regarded as operative in their fusion, see,

Smith: Building the Nation

For a study of the Slav, see

Balch: Our Slavic Fellow Citizens.

Sands: The Ukraine.

V. INTERNATIONALISM AND WAR

"Let us therefore be more considerate builders, more wise in spiritual architecture, when great reformation is expected."

Milton.

The resolutions passed at the General Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation¹ are the result of long and intense discussion among the representatives of National Student Christian Movements. They show that students in many lands are trying to discover a basis of international co-operation which shall end war. The discussion showed that representatives of European countries suffered from a profound sense of insecurity, from the knowledge of the depth and persistence of racial hatreds and of the fundamental lack of co-operation between nations. It is necessary for those of us who have not had the same experiences to make an effort to understand both the odds against peace and the desire for peace which exists in other countries. This effort of understanding is the first step towards establishing conditions which will make peace possible. These resolutions will not be worth the paper they are written on unless we make them our own and discover how they can be realized in action.

To find the causes of war we must look first at our own attitude towards other nations and determine how far we are possessed of a temper which will make peace possible. We are willing to support the League of Nations as the instrument for settling disputes in Europe, but are we willing to support it in the event of its being called upon to settle a dispute between ourselves and some other country? If we look on the League as the arbitrator for other nations only, we have not gone very far in discovering a way of peace. We admit that the independence and sovereignty of the citizen within the state must be limited for the sake of other citizens; are we prepared to admit that the independence and sovereignty of the nation must be limited for the sake of humanity? At the bottom do we still see in war, as primitive communities saw in the blood feud, the only honourable means of settling a dispute? A "civilized" blood feud we consider a contradiction in terms, but we have not yet placed "civilized" warfare in the same category. We must discover whether we are prepared to support a moral relation between states and submit to the limitations this would involve or whether we are only ready to pass peace resolutions, but intend to act on the conviction that to the strong is victory.

A fundamental cause of war is the clinging to force as the legitimate instrument for the settlement of international disputes,

¹See Appendix A

though we have discarded it as the legitimate instrument for the settlement of disputes between individuals. The movement for disarmament is a movement to discard this instrument. The naval reductions agreed to at Washington mark a beginning, but general disarmament has not been accepted as a policy by any of the nations, and increase in other armaments may nullify the value of reductions in ships of war. The Australian Peace Alliance has asked for a universal referendum on world disarmament on the ground that the peoples of the world alone can end war and that an expression of opinion will show how general is the sentiment in favor of disarmament. This is a recognition that the hands of governments are tied unless they have sanctions from the nations on whose will they depend. ²This fact is illustrated in the course taken by the Peace Conference and in the weakness of the League of Nations. We have local laws forbidding the carrying of firearms by individuals; we may not train guns from the roofs of our dwellings on passers-by nor empty boiling oil on unwelcome guests, these and other mediaeval domestic precautions we have abandoned in the interests of peace. Public opinion supports the limitation of the use of force within the nation, and for that reason it is possible; public opinion will have to support disarmament to make it possible. We must decide whether or not we regard force as a legitimate instrument for the settlement of international disputes.

The student must be willing to study the past to discover what motives have produced wars and see which of these motives are still active. Help in this is given in the academic courses in all universities. The desire to obtain geographical boundaries³, the desire to have territory under the same flag for overflow of population, above all, in our own day, the desire for economic expansion which has resulted in an economic imperialism, these are causes we should study as well as the claims of nationality and revolutionary movements for a new order.⁴ The causes of war cannot be destroyed unless they are recognized.

We must ask ourselves what war really is and whether war accomplishes what we have been led to suppose it accomplishes.⁵

²History of the Peace Conference of Paris. Temperley. Vol. II, page 14.

The Responsibilities of the League. Eustace Percy. Page 141.

³See The New World, problems in political geography, by Isaiah Bowman.

⁴On Economic Imperialism, see Empire and Commerce in Africa, L. S. Woolf.

On claims of new nations, see Temperley. Vol. IV.

On Russian Revolution, see Eustace Percy. Chap. III. Temperley. Vol. 1, Chap. VI.

On divergent claims of Allies, see Temperley, Vol. 1, and Eustace Percy, page 121.

⁵Temperley, Vol. 1, Chapter IV, and Vol. IV, Chapters I and IX.

Eustace Percy, Chapters III and V.

History has often been taught and written as a glorious record of the victories of kings, and war has been made to appear the prime instrument of progress. How much of this is true?⁶ The strongest peace party today is probably made up of those who know in their own experience what war is and are stripped of the comfortable illusions in which some non-combatants still find solace.⁷ Modern warfare is not merely a trial of strength between trained bands subject to certain chivalrous rules; it is an organized attempt to annihilate whole nations. We have seen one distinction after another between combatants and non-combatants disappear until the bombing of defenceless towns and the use of poison gas have made the wiping out of whole populations possible. War is the letting loose of scientific engines of destruction unhampered by the moral limitations which in national spheres make life and progress possible. In Asia there is a growing belief that the war of 1914-18 marks the beginning of the downfall of European civilization. If we examine the results of this war we find a crop of new disputes, each capable of producing new wars; we find a poverty of leadership because many of the best have fallen and we find blind indifference and ignorance to the cause of war. With how much reason can we assert that this war has proved a vehicle of progress?

Disputes between states are bound to arise. If citizens of states are opposed to impartial investigation and chauvinistic to the extermination of reason, war will probably be the result, for the temper of peace is lacking. In this connection it is well to consider the recommendation of the Federation that each Student Christian Movement give special attention to "Those aspects of international and interracial questions which most affect that nation."⁸ It is often said that Canada can serve a useful function in explaining Great Britain to the United States and the United States to Great Britain, but if Canadians refuse to understand either people this is impossible. It is important that Canada should grow in understanding of India, China and Japan that some satisfactory settlement may be reached on immigration questions; while to know and understand European immigrants is both a national and an international responsibility.

The Federation calls on us to face "fearlessly and frankly in the light of Jesus' teachings, the whole question of war and of those social and economic forces which tend to issue in war."⁸ we must ask ourselves whether Christ's insistence on love of enemies has any application outside the boundaries of the nation. We must ask ourselves how far we are prepared to limit our national independence for the sake of humanity. We must ask ourselves how

⁶Eustace Percy, page 278.

⁷See C. E. Montague, Disenchantment.

⁸Appendix A

a law of love can be applied to specific international questions, and whether we are prepared to take the risk of applying it. We must have done with fear and casuistry in seeking for a way of peace through the teaching of Christ. We need to-day not new political philosophies but a new moral force.⁹

The anniversary of August 4th, 1914, was celebrated this year by "No more war" demonstrations in the leading cities of France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States. Social, industrial and religious societies of almost every type participated. Resolutions were passed in each country pledging co-operation with peace movements in other countries to prevent war by endeavoring to remove the causes of war by developing "such a sense of international solidarity as will make war impossible." That sense of international solidarity is notoriously lacking in this country. Vague, inarticulate aspirations after peace will not prevent war. To discover the way of peace we have to embark on a search which will require consecration, sacrifice, discipline; for the way of peace can only be discovered if ordinary people have a reasoned and passionate belief in the creative possibilities of peace and give themselves in a conscious effort to establish international solidarity.

Questions for Discussion

1. What causes of war exist to-day?

Consider: Geographical boundaries (See Maps in The New World, Isaiah Bowman), Racial Hatred, Economic Imperialism, Nature of Nationalism.

Ref.: Towards the Brotherhood of Nations, Chap. I, V. & VI.

The Responsibilities of the League. Chap. III & IV.

2. Can progress be made through peace rather than through war?

Ref.: Towards the Brotherhood of Nations. Chapter IV.
The Responsibilities of the League. Chapters V-VII.

3. What is the importance of a British-American entente as a step toward peace?

Ref.: The Responsibilities of the League. Chap. I, II & VI.

4. Is the development of international co-operation the only alternative for war?

Ref.: Towards the Brotherhood of Nations. Chap. XI.

5. Can we discover anything in the teaching of Christ which will solve the problem of war?

⁹Eustace Percy, page 318.

VI. INTERNATIONALISM AND CO-OPERATION

A nationalistic spirit is in evidence everywhere today. We see it in the new states of Europe; we see it in India; we see it in Canada in the quick resentment which any suspected infringement of national right is sure to produce. Internationalism is often looked at askance as the contradiction of nationalism, but the definition of both terms is necessary before we can say whether they are in reality opposed to each other.

We hear much of national rights and far less of national duties, except in time of war when every appeal is made on that ground. Yet we must ask ourselves whether rights can exist independently of duties; the right to govern involves the duty of government; the right to vote involves the duty of voting; the right to education involves the duty of being educated, and so on. That rights involve duties is a truism, but, like many truisms, it is recognized in theory more clearly than in practice. Nationalism seems often to be considered a collection of personal rights and impersonal duties. It is essential to discover the duties of nationalism as well as the rights.

Possibly the failure to perceive the connection between rights and duties accounts for the contradictory elements in nationalism. We find, on one hand, love of country and of national institutions, appreciation of national genius combined with an ambition to serve mankind and a willingness to make sacrifices for the national good and for humanity. We find, on the other hand, a love of domination and exploitation which produces in other nations fear and a desire for revenge; we find a proud ignorance of the civilization and genius of other nations combined with a calm sense of superiority over all peoples, races and tongues. There is ample evidence, too, of hysteria which, in the name of patriotism, discounts reason, ignores fact, and dubs truth traitor. It is plain that certain of these elements which are included in the term nationalism are irreconcilable with each other. The conviction that "a nation should claim not its own aggrandisement but its right to serve humanity as a distinct group" (*Mazzini*) is not compatible with domination over and exploitation of other nations or with an hysterical superiority. According to one definition nationalism will find expression in service and co-operation between nations, according to the other it will find expression in isolation and strife. A synthesis of the two is not yet achieved.

¹Responsibilities of the League, Chap. III.

A History of the Peace Conference of Paris, Vol. IV.

Whatever may be the definition of nationalism in practical affairs, we recognize the importance of international relationships and the impossibility of a nationalism which insists on isolation. Permanent relations are maintained between governments through diplomatic and consular services; in time of peace citizens expect to go freely from one state to another; science and art are not confined within national boundaries; foreign markets are found to be essential for domestic prosperity and their dislocation involves dislocation within the state.³ Intercourse, both private and official, between nations is various and far-reaching; we cannot argue for national isolation from a study of fact. Though the necessity of international co-operation is obvious, we refuse to adopt the reciprocal attitude which makes co-operation possible.

The recognition of the interdependence of nations and the necessity of co-operation is recognized in the creation of the League of Nations. Membership of the League requires a measure of responsibility for other nations and also a recognition of a certain measure of international control. Canada, in becoming a member of the League, shares the financial responsibility⁴ for its support, as well as responsibility for adjusting disputes between nations, for the protection of minorities, for the supervision of mandates, for an international labor bureau for humanitarian work, such as the investigation and control of epidemics and for the action of various commissions.⁵ Membership of the League is a recognition of international responsibility and of the necessity of co-operation.

This responsibility does not seem to be widely realized.⁶ It would seem that the interest of the average Canadian citizen in foreign affairs is small and that a general consciousness of the pledge to international co-operation implied in membership of the League is lacking.⁷ International questions appear remote and the demand for foreign news is so slight that the press can declare "the public does not want that sort of thing," as an excuse for scanty and inaccurate despatches. This irresponsible attitude is a menace to the League which depends for its life on the will of the peoples behind the representatives of the national governments which sit in its councils, for co-operation between nations can only develop if a sane and responsible public opinion wills that development.

³Norman Angell, *The Fruits of Victory*, Chapter I; Eustace Percy. Chap. V.

⁴Canadian Contribution to League of Nations is 891,038 gold francs (35 units). Contribution of Great Britain is 2,291,242 gold francs (90 units).

⁵Geoffrey Butler, *A Handbook to the League of Nations*. For a short summary of the machinery and work of the League see *The League of Nations*, its organization and work. (Supplement to the February, 1922, Monthly Summary of the League of Nations.)

⁶The Responsibilities of the League, page 13.

⁷The Responsibilities of the League, Chaps. IV & V.

⁸The Federation has passed a resolution asserting belief in "the fundamental equality of all the races and nations of mankind," and calls on its members to consider it as part of their Christian vocation to express this reality. Fundamental equality has been asserted before and a certain expression of it has been given in Christian missions and in movements for social reform, but many utterances in the name of Christianity have been confused and uncertain; nor is the charge groundless that the subjection of races has been undertaken in that name. "Christian Internationalism" is a nebulous term needing definition at a hundred practical points. We have not seriously tried to discover and apply the teaching of Christ to the solution of international relations.⁹

An examination of the possibilities of international co-operation involves an examination of the nature of our nationalism and an analysis of the elements which make its concrete expression. It is plain that we must undertake a humble and fearless study of our own position in a spirit of "passionate detachment" and test our discoveries by the teaching of Christ. Such discoveries as are made must find expression in the life of the nation. We must realize such international responsibilities as are already assumed and look forward to a conscious co-operation with other nations. The average individual must make co-operation his responsibility; conscious citizenship within the state is not enough, there must be created a conscious citizenship in a comity of nations. "Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belaboured, contrivances such as a policy of 'don't care' on a question about which all true men do care."

Questions for Discussion

1. Do the conditions of modern life demand something larger than the self-contained nation state?

Ref.: Towards the Brotherhood of Nations. Chap. I & VI.
Responsibilities of the League. Chap. V & VI.

2. What are the conditions of further development and improvement in international society?

Ref.: Towards the Brotherhood of Nations. Chap. I & II.

3. By what processes do you think a world society can come into being? Consider the League of Nations, its organization, what it has accomplished, its weakness, conditions necessary for further development.

4. What can we do to promote international co-operation?

(a) as undergraduates. (b) as graduates.

Ref.: Appendix A.

⁸Appendix A.

⁹Towards the Brotherhood of Nations, Bolton Waller, Chaps. II & III.

Bibliography

Bolton Waller: Towards the Brotherhood of Nations. S.C.M. 5/.

Eustace Percy: The responsibilities of the League. Hodder & Stoughton. 6/.

N. W. Rowell: The British Empire and World Peace. Oxford University Press. \$3.00.

On the League of Nations.

Butler, Geoffrey: A handbook to the League of Nations. Longmans. 5/.

The League of Nations Starts. An outline by its organizers. MacMillan. 10/6.

Duggan, S. P. H.: Principles and Practice of the League. Atlantic Monthly Press.

League of Nations Union Pamphlets:

Angell, Norman: The Economic Function of the League. 1/.

Burns, C. Delisle, The League and Labour. 1/.

The Covenant Explained. 1/.

Garnett, Maxwell: Christianity and the League of Nations. 6d.

The League of Nations and the Schools. 3d.

Murray, Gilbert: The League and its Guarantees. 1/.

Toynbee, A. T., The League in the East. 1/.

Woolf, J. S., Mandates and Empire. 1/.

General Books for Reference.

Mackinder, Democratic Ideals and Reality. Constable & Co.

Burns C. Delisle, International Politics. Methuen. 5/.

Keynes, J. M., A Revision of the Treaty. Goodchild & Co.

Angell, Norman, The Fruits of Victory. Collins. 5/.

Temperley, H. A. V., and others, A History of the Peace Conference. 5 vols. Froude and Hodder & Stoughton, £5 5s.

Isaiah Bowman, The New World (good maps).

Periodicals.

Regular reading of some periodical which gives reliable news of foreign affairs is essential.

The Manchester Guardian Weekly, 2d a number, is good.

The Round Table Quarterly. MacMillan. \$2.50 a year. Review of events in the British Empire.

The Monthly Summary of the League of Nations. Official publication. Annual subscription, \$1.25.

The Monthly Bulletin of the League of Nations Society in Canada contains a summary of the work of the League (sent to members of the League of Nations Society who pay an annual subscription of \$1.00).

Further bibliography and information about the League of Nations may be obtained from the General Secretary, the League of Nations, Hope Chambers, Ottawa.

VII. THE FOREIGN MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

An International Christian Fellowship

Foreign Missions may have meant to some people the snatching of souls from hell, adding to one's own Communion, or taking to benighted heathen who are totally depraved and whose religious attainments are utterly worthless, one's own particular brand of theological dogma. But to the more thoughtful today missions mean a great international fellowship on the basis of sharing in the best we have—and that primarily in the revelation of God by Jesus Christ and His way of life. An example of this sharing is seen in the newly-formed International Missionary Council, on which there are three representatives each from China, Japan and India sitting with those from the so-called Christian nations.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for us to think of India, China or Japan as "foreign." The war has accentuated and brought within easy completion a process which has been going on for decades. The world today is one large family of nations. Members of the League of Nations can hardly consider one another as foreigners. Representatives of many of these nations met together as comrades in France. The people of India, Australia, South Africa and Canada are all citizens of the British Empire—"an imperial brotherhood." We are kinsmen together. In our colleges we share with students from other lands. The daily papers bring the world to us. There is not now "Home" and "Foreign." The world is a family; all is "Home."

The world is becoming a great family in the realm of ideas. "East is East and West is West," but through the example of fundamental brotherhood lived by Jesus a great similarity in all peoples has been discovered. A meeting of the General Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation, with representatives from thirty to forty nations, reveals to one how similar we are. At its meeting in China and the Conference following it in April of this year, the motto was a saying of Confucius, "One family under Heaven." The Federation motto is, "Ut Omnes unum sint." Verily it will be so, and it should now be so among Christians. Frequently in such gatherings it is found that two people of the same nation and race differ more widely than two of different races. Race or nationality do not divide us so fundamentally as do our ideals. We agree with Barrie that "You have more in common with the Youth of other lands than Youth and Age can

ever have with each other." We study many of the same text books, we read much of the same literature, we play the same games, the world over, and we find ourselves thinking together. We are finding comrades among those of other nations and races, comrades as near to us as our own people or nearer. We need not be foreigners, we may be friends.

Naturally there is with all peoples a new national consciousness, not only in the reborn countries of Europe, but also in the far and near East. Here again we are alike. There seems to be no reason why the aspirations of peoples in other lands should not be as honest as our own. What chance is there for the development of their national life in the way of God without such a sense of self-responsibility? All these national desires have a great influence on the Christian Church in the land. The native Christian Churches in most so-called missioned countries are a very vital force.

If "foreign" must give place to "international" what shall we say about "missions"? The term is used in so many ways. We have missions in our own churches for the deepening of the spiritual life of the members; we have missions to investigate conditions or to confer so as to reach an understanding with other people; we also have missions with the purpose of changing or converting. Possibly a combination of all of these is what is wanted in the term "foreign missions." Most missionaries themselves feel the need of being missioned. We are not so sure of ourselves that we wish all the world to be as we are. Yet we do know that Jesus' relationship to God, and His way of life which has been revealed to us has helped us greatly. Our fellows in Asia and Africa realize this also in their lives. They cry out for us to come and help them make their people and their nation truly Christian. Their expression of Christianity may not be as ours. Their background is different; their traditions and folklore are based on other religions which have had great values for them. But they see in Christ their own highest aspirations.¹

The glory of Jesus' religion is that it fully satisfies all people who fully accept of it as no other ever does. It is, therefore, incumbent on all who know Him to see that every one has the opportunity of securing such satisfaction. Even if many of our own people will not follow Him, that is no reason why we should not give others, who are anxious to know Him, our very best assistance.

Possibly our aid is most desired to-day in the way of service. The adoption of modern educational methods in every land calls for a host of teachers, not only in the mission schools (which have so

¹The Crown of Hinduism, Farquhar.
Buddhist Ideals, Saunders.
Gotama Buddha, Saunders.

often been pioneers in such work) but in government and **private** schools as well. Indeed this is one of the great needs of today. (*Appendix B, A 2.*) There is also a great demand for medical people, doctors and nurses, both for regular hospital and practical work, and also to initiate public health schemes. The new industrialism of the East, which is old to the western world, calls for our best workers to pass on even our scanty information and experience. But above all, and especially today, and if not today, then certainly tomorrow, there is, or will be, an urgent call to those who can more clearly interpret the essential elements in the teachings of Jesus. He is not even remotely understood by most folk and hardly yet grasped by the best. Nothing challenges members of the S. C. M. as this single task. If undertaken properly it will unlock all other doors and make attainable His great conception of the Kingdom of God.

But if this is the enterprise: "An international Christian Fellowship," which is "a sharing on the part of all peoples who are Christians with all other peoples of the earth so as to help each discover God's way for him and to make it easier for each to do God's will," then what manner of folk should we be? In this conception all may be missionaries. This little world of ours makes it impossible for an ambassador to say one thing and the nation another; secret diplomacy is ended; we cannot preach one gospel in India and live another one in Vancouver, or Halifax, or on the farms of Ontario. We must be true, all of us. In this there is no difference between Home and Foreign, save in the location of the worker and the particular kind of work to be done. We dare not let the other fellow down. We are pledged to bring in the Kingdom of God right here wherever we are, and now.

Yet many more of us must go from Canada if we are to do our work in the world. Many nations are asking for helpers; there can be no letting down because the glamour of the unknown is torn away but rather an increase of effort. We must accomplish the task, and the day is far spent; if not accomplished now, the delay will indeed be a great delay. Those who go should be picked people. They must go as leaders, leaders of great enterprises, experts in their own line, able to assist in undertakings of national importance. They also go as comrades, willing to work with or be subordinate to the native Christian leaders. They must be willing to make a supremely unselfish contribution; nothing for themselves, nothing for their own Communion as such, nothing for their western culture, nothing for their scheme of government, but everything for Christ and for the people to whom they go.

Let the preparation of the missionary, therefore, be the best possible in his profession, and let the Boards who send him see that

his gifts and training are used to advantage. Too many have their work selected for them after they reach the field, and have not sufficient preparation for it. This could surely be avoided by making appointments earlier. Every missionary should understand something of the problem of health in the country to which he is going and be ready to cope with it both for himself and his people. He should have a good idea of the beliefs and aims of his chosen people. If he wishes to share with them he must begin where they are, he must be one of them, in knowledge at least. He should have a knowledge of the history of missions, especially as related to his special Board and the country in which he is going to work. While still at home he should see very clearly the political aspirations of his chosen people. Of course, there as here, these will alter continually but he must know the problems and see clearly the issue or else, when there, he will be so much apart from them that he will not be able to share in their thinking. Governments and missions react very much on each other. The missionary is not a government official, but he must be acquainted with the issues.

Any missionary must realize that the privilege of living in another civilization demands that he be acquainted with some of the best literature of the people, that he also understands something of their customs and their way of life. But primarily he is an ambassador of his church, of his comrades in Christ at home, and, above all, of God Himself through Jesus Christ. Nothing can ever take the place of this essential qualification in a missionary. Too frequently missionaries go from our professional schools and even from our theological colleges with too little insight into the real mind of Jesus. There seems to be no great sense of need on the part of many to grasp this fact. They go out to express our middle class western culture and try to interpret Jesus in the light of it. The demand is truly as stated by a representative of India, "Do not bring to us your western denominationalism; do not bring to us your western ideas of government and of institutions; do not bring to us your social standards. What we want is the real Christ. If you cannot bring Him, then for His sake remain at home. If you will bring Him to us, we cannot have too many of you." And the task is not ours. It is His. He only asks us to be His representative. The final responsibility is His, the future is His, the great working together of our separate tasks is His. We should be thankful that He gives us our definite job. Let us spend time to know really what He would have us do.

If this is what is expected of those who go, can we ask for any less from those who remain? All must be in the enterprise. We are of Canada; are we doing all in our power to make our country Christ's, or are we making it difficult for this international fellow-

ship to continue? What is our attitude in Canada to the political movement in India, to the labor problems of Africa, to the Korean situation? Are we lending our minds and hearts to a solving of the vexed immigration question? Are those from other lands who come to us to study and to work going back to their countries to report that they found here true Christian comradeship or otherwise? That is the missionary problem, and it is the problem of every member of the Student Christian Movement.

Questions for Discussion

1. What should be the attitude of a missionary to the native church and the native worker?

2. What is the attitude of Canadian student to people of other races and other countries?

Is it possible to treat an African as an equal? What is at the bottom of the racial problem?

3. What should be the attitude of the missionary and missionary societies to the governments of the countries in which they are working and to their own government? (Note the opium problem as it affects China and India.)

4. Is this a feasible watchword: "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation"?

5. If China were to send Christian missionaries to convert non-Christians in Canada, what sort of folk would you like to have come to us? What would you expect their attitude to be to our institutions and how would you recommend that they should do their work?

Bibliography

An Introduction to Missionary Service, edited by G. A. Gollock and E. G. K. Hewat. \$1.25. *Suitable for use as a textbook.*

The Crown of Hinduism, J. N. Farquhar. \$1.50.

The International Review of Missions, published quarterly. Annual subscription, \$2.50.

Appendix A

Report on the International Object of the World's Student Christian Federation.

We, representing Christian students from all parts of the world, believe in the fundamental equality of all the races and nations of mankind and consider it as part of our Christian vocation to express this reality in all our relationships.

We consider it our absolute duty to do all in our power to fight the causes leading to war, and war itself, as a means of settling international disputes.

As a result of our discussion at the Peking Conference, we declare frankly that we have not succeeded in reaching an agreement as to what our individual attitude ought to be in the event of war. Some are convinced that under no circumstances can they as Christians engage in war; others, that under certain circumstances they ought to take their share in the struggle. We leave, however, with a deep sense of our common determination to follow Jesus Christ, and with fresh confidence in the unity of our purpose and in the power of Christ to show us the way, as we earnestly and penitently seek it in the fellowship of our Federation.

We desire that the different National Movements of the Federation should face, fearlessly and frankly, in the light of Jesus' teachings, the whole question of war and of those social and economic forces which tend to issue in war.

Therefore, as specific means of realizing our objective, we suggest to our constituent Movements the following:

- a. That, where conditions seem right, international conferences be arranged between representatives of different nations, races and groups, especially for prayer and fellowship.
- b. That greater efforts be made to acquaint students with the points of view of other nations, through lectures, interchange of student deputations, conferences of small groups and appropriate publications.
- c. That each Movement be urged to associate with itself groups of men and women who will do thorough and constructive thinking on international problems from the Christian point of view, and make available, through the openings afforded by the Federation and otherwise, the results of their thinking. This may be done by the founding of scholarships to enable men and women to devote their entire time to this study.

The Federation Officers should endeavour to keep in close

- touch with such groups, in order to facilitate making their contributions most widely known throughout the Federation.
- d. That study courses be prepared by such men and women, to be used in every part of the world, dealing with the bearing of Jesus' life and teachings on international relations.
 - e. That wherever possible there be interchange of secretaries between different Movements.
 - f. That there be a deeper realization of the importance of making Jesus' principles prevail in all phases of the life of the colleges and universities themselves.
 - g. That each Movement emphasize in its conferences those aspects of international and interracial questions which most affect that nation.
 - h. That encouragement be given to plans for preparations of histories and other textbooks, and of curriculum courses, which shall be consistent with the best scholarship and which shall not be biased by narrow nationalism.
That students who are going into the teaching of subjects that bear on international relations be led to recognize their special responsibility for the study and teaching of their subjects in the spirit of Christian scholarship.
 - i. That our Movements consider how they may ensure
 1. That systematic teaching on the application of Christian principles to international and interracial relations form a part of religious education.
 2. That those who are planning to go into the diplomatic service, foreign trade or colonial administration, be educated to follow their professions in accordance with Christian principles.
 3. That assistance be given to foreign communities in obtaining the services of the best clergymen and other Christian workers to minister to their needs.
 4. That the news service of their respective countries be improved, both in the quantity of news on international problems and in the accuracy and fairness of that news.
 5. That students who are considering journalism as a life work be led to see the implications of Jesus' teachings for their profession.
 - j. That better provision be made for bringing into friendly contact the foreign and native students of our schools and universities, and for the introduction of foreign students to a better understanding of the nations in which they live.
 - k. That "The Student World," until the next meeting of General Committee, give major attention to the questions raised in this report.

1. That there be founded or strengthened Christian communities in the lands where they are now either non-existent or relatively weak, and that to this end there be an increased missionary effort. We believe that only as there is in each nation a strong community which can bring to bear on the policies of its government a Christian conscience, can we hope for a Christianizing of intercourse between peoples.
- m. That in order that these steps be taken at the earliest possible moment, each Movement, where it deems it necessary, appoint a sub-committee.
 1. To make a study of conditions in its own country affecting Christian internationalism;
 2. To see how these proposals may be most effectively carried out;
 3. And further, that Movements send delegates to the next meeting of the General Committee, prepared to discuss how more adequately to carry out the international aims of the Federation.
- n. Finally, we unite in a call to the Church of Christ throughout the world, to study the implication, for international relations, of the Gospel committed to it, to work for the elimination of the causes that lead to war, and to devote itself to the task of making real that City of God into which shall be brought the glory and honour of all the nations.

Appendix B

Report on the Missionary Purpose of the World's Student Christian Federation.

A. Attitude towards the pronouncements of the International Missionary Council.

1. The General Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation heartily welcomes and endorses the resolutions passed by the recent conference of the International Missionary Council at Lake Mohonk.

We are particularly glad to notice that nationals from Oriental lands have now official status on the Council. We look to see a much wider extension of this principle in the near future.

2. The following matters in connection with their proceedings have a bearing on our work:

- a. The findings regarding the relations between Church and missions. We are determined to put our whole weight into getting these principles extensively applied in practice with the least possible delay.

- b. The critical situation which now faces Christian education in mission lands in view of the rapid growth of first-rate government institutions.

This situation challenges us to make special efforts to establish Christian groups in these colleges and also to present to our members the call to accept posts on the staffs of government institutions.

- c. The distinction now made between "Politics" and "Public Questions" and the new attitude of missionaries toward these subjects.

We are challenged as a Federation and as individuals to follow this lead of the missionary societies and to do our utmost to make the principles of Jesus Christ the only test of right and wrong in all public questions.

B. Resolution on Mission Study:

We would urge upon all Christian students the importance of a thorough and sympathetic study of the leading non-Christian religions and the clamant needs of non-Christian lands, in order that they may pray intelligently and labour effectively for the evangelization of these lands and for the upbuilding of indigenous and self-propagating churches.

C. Student Volunteer Policy.

Resolutions:

1. It is our conviction that the present condition of the world constitutes a challenge as never before to the students of to-day, for complete self-dedication of life to win all classes and peoples to discipleship of Jesus Christ and to the reconstruction of society on the basis of His principles.

2. We are convinced that it is still the special responsibility of Student Movements to enlist their members for life service in specifically religious work. Although experiences with regard to the Student Volunteer work vary in different lands, there are large circles within the Federation which are convinced that the Student Volunteer method is of very great value and who believe that they have learned in their work of recruiting that no other method has been so effective in obtaining workers for life service in home and foreign mission fields.

By the Student Volunteer method is meant the method of recruiting students for neglected forms of undermanned fields of Christian service, by means of the challenge of a specific declaration of purpose, and of uniting those thus recruited in groups for fellowship in prayer, fellowship in preparation and fellowship in service; also, to co-operate with the Church in bringing its leaders into touch with a larger number of adequately prepared workers.

3. Surveying the missionary needs of the present time, we would call the attention of Student Christian Movements to the special needs of the African continent. Our attention has been called to the fact that it is at present very difficult for Negro Student Volunteers to enter many parts of Africa, their fatherland, to carry on missionary work. This is obviously unfair, and more, contrary to the accepted conceptions of missionary policy, which long ago recognized that no group can be wholly won to Christianity by members of another entirely different group. We therefore desire

- a. That the attention of the International Missionary Council be called to this anomalous situation, and that it be urged to use its influence to have these, our fellow Student Volunteers, who qualify otherwise, accepted for service in every part of Africa.
- b. That National Movements, in those countries which control the greater part of Africa, be urged to use their influence to break down any barriers which may work to prevent the acceptance of Negro Student Volunteers in Africa.

4. We would further specially emphasize the following aspects of the present missionary situation as it affects candidates for missionary service:

- a. The need of mission lands to-day is primarily for quality. Missionary appeals should be made so as to secure not the greatest number, but the right type of men and women. There is no place to-day for the man or woman who has not a growing mind. Workers must go abroad not only to take what they know of Christ, but eager to learn still more of Him from the people they go to serve.
- b. On the other hand, the establishment and development of the younger churches of mission lands and the needs of fields as yet unentered, still call for an offering of their best by the older churches, numerically greater and not smaller than in the past.
- c. Missionary candidates to-day, while going forth under the auspices of their respective Christian communions or societies, should seek to make clear to the people among whom they labour that they come as servants of the Church Universal.
- d. They must go not as leaders of, but as fellow-workers with the Christian community of the country to which they go. Their standards of efficiency and methods of work must be from the beginning in accordance with the genius of that country.

- e. The great need to-day is that the gospel of Jesus Christ should find expression in every department of life. Educationalists, social workers, civil servants, etc., can express through lives of service devoted to their own calling, the message of the sacrificial love of God revealed in Jesus Christ.

We would, however, emphasize that the primary need of all people throughout the World is, as it has always been, communion with God through Jesus Christ. Let us therefore see to it that the full expression of the Christian gospel in all departments of life does not obscure its main content.

D. The situation of Christian students in mission lands to-day.

Resolution:

That the following messages be sent to Christian students in mission lands and to the International Missionary Council.

1. To Christian Students in Mission Lands.

While appreciating the difficulties of Christian students in mission lands in these transition days, we would say to them that it is our firm conviction that their countries cannot be won for Christ unless they throw themselves heart and soul into the work of the Church, however impossible existing conditions of service may appear to be.

We, for our part, pledge ourselves to stand, as a Federation, and as individuals, for the realization of the ideal of unconditional fellowship and co-operation in all Christian work.

2. To the International Missionary Council.

The General Committee of the World's Student Christian Federation assembled at Peking feels constrained to bring to the notice of the International Missionary Council that from the intercourse we have had with the students themselves we find that the following are among the principal reasons why Christian students in mission lands are not offering in sufficient numbers for the work of the Church:

- a. They feel that in many cases they are not admitted into complete fellowship and co-operation with, or taken into the confidence of, the foreign missionaries.
- b. The average missionary is too hesitant to make the necessary experiments in Church leadership which the present situation so imperatively demands.

We are convinced that the continuance of this tense situation is very gravely imperilling the future of the Christian Church in these lands.

